

## Message Text

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43

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 05152

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN'S EYES ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, SW

SUBJECT: WESTERN VALUES, SPAIN AND THE ISSUE OF DUE PROCESS

1. LEST YOU MIGHT DEDUCE FROM STOCKHOLM 4964 THAT I HAVE TURNED SOFT ON OLOF PALME, I HEREWITH GIVE YOU MY REASONS FOR SUGGESTING THAT THE U.S. SHOULD CONSIDER STATING ITS POSITION ON THE "NECESSITY OF DUE PROCESS" IN SPAIN.

2. THE EXPLICIT RATIONALE OF OUR DEALINGS WITH SPAIN IS THE WESTERN ALLIANCE'S NEED FOR SPANISH BASES; THE IMPLICIT ONE IS SPAIN'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY OF WESTERN PEOPLES. WITH THE CONSENT OF OUR ALLIES, WE HAVE ACTED ROUTINELY AS A GO-BETWEEN BETWEEN NATO AND SPAIN. IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR THE RESISTANCE OF SOME OF OUR ALLIES, WE WOULD HAVE SECURED FOR SPAIN A MORE FORMAL AND CLOSER LINK TO NATO, IF NOT FULL MEMBERSHIP IN IT. OUR SPONSORSHIP OF SPAIN CAN BE JUSTIFIED--AND, PROBABLY, HAS BEEN SO JUSTIFIED--ON GROUNDS OF SPAIN'S POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND INNATE COMMITMENT TO WESTERN VALUES, AND NOT MERELY ON GROUNDS OF STRATEGIC EXPEDIENCY. IF THERE HAS BEEN ONE FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT OF THE NATO ALLIES THAT HAS BEEN CATEGORICALLY REAFFIRMED BY THEIR STATESMEN AS THE MORAL WARRANT OF THE DEFENSE EFFORT, CONFIDENTIAL

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IT HAS BEEN THAT TO THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST'S POLITICAL

INSTITUTIONS, I.E. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND THE GUARANTEES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM THAT GO WITH IT. TO THAT EXTENT, NATO REPRESENTS A CONSENSUS ON POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, AND THAT CONSENSUS SETS OFF SHARPLY THE ALLIANCE FROM ITS ADVERSARIES.

3. THE PEOPLES OF NATO LOOK TO US AS THE HISTORIC GUARDIANS OF THESE PRINCIPLES; INDEED, THEY IDENTIFY US WITH THESE PRINCIPLES. THEY EXPECT US TO LIVE UP TO OUR HISTORIC ETHICAL LEGACY--AND THEY HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO DO SO. THIS MAY NOT ALWAYS BE COMFORTABLE FOR THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY; BUT, LIKE ALL MEN, WE CANNOT JUMP OVER OUR OWN SHADOW. AS THE SPOKESMEN OF THE WEST'S POLITICAL-MORAL CONSENSUS, WE NEED TO TAKE A STAND WHEN A COUNTRY THAT PROFESSES ITS ADHESION TO WESTERN VALUES, PATENTLY VIOLATES THEM. THE WAY THE SPANISH TERRORISTS WERE TRIED--BY A SUMMARY COURT MARTIAL--DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO ANY NOTION OF DUE PROCESS. WE SHOULD SAY SO--SOBERLY AND QUIETLY, BUT TO THE POINT.

4. THE PAROXYSM OF EUROPEAN INDIGNATION ABOUT THE LATEST DEVELOPMENT IN SPAIN REFLECTS THE FRUSTRATION AND RESENTMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN LEFT, EAGER TO RALLY ITS UNRULY RANKS AND TO FIND A POPULAR CAUSE AS FETCHING AS HAS BEEN THE VIETNAM ISSUE. THE EXERCISE REEKS OF HYPOCRISY AND MISCHIEVOUSNESS. WE NEED NOT LET OURSELVES BE MOVED BY IT. BUT IT LIES IN OUR BEST INTEREST AND IN THE BEST INTEREST OF SPAIN THAT WE BRING TO BEAR THE WEIGHT OF OUR OPINION ON THAT FACET OF THE SPANISH TRAGEDY THAT CONCERNS US AND ALL MEN WHO CARE ABOUT THE CONDUCT OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY. INDEED, BY REMINDING SPAIN OF HER OBLIGATION TO SHARED CONCEPTS OF LAW, WE WILL HELP SPAIN TO FIND HER WAY TO WESTERN COMITY.

5. SPAIN DOES NEED A LOT OF HELP. HISTORY NEVER REPEATS ITSELF QUITE THE SAME WAY. I AM OLD ENOUGH, HOWEVER, TO REMEMBER THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. IT SPLIT THE WEST DOWN THE MIDDLE, SPARKED WORLD WAR II AND

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ERODED FRANCE'S WILL TO FIGHT. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT THE WEST WILL BE AGAIN AS IMPROVIDENT AND FECKLESS AS IT WAS 40 YEARS AGO. BUT, THE TIME TO EXERT OUR INFLUENCE IS NOW. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE RELATIVE CALM OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, WE CAN STATE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE DRIFT OF SPANISH JUSTICE, AND CALL UPON THE INCUMBENT REGIME TO APPLY THOSE SAFEGUARDS AND RESTRAINTS IN THE LEGAL PROCESS THAT

CHARACTERIZE WESTERN POLITICAL SYSTEMS. SUCH  
RESTRAINT COULD HELP SAVE SPAIN FROM AN OTHER  
RENDING CIVIC CONFLICT. THAT OUR WORDS SHOULD BE  
MEASURED AND SENSITIVE TO THE SUSCEPTIBILITIES OF  
A PROUD PEOPLE, THIS I NEED HARDLY STRESS. I AM  
SURE THAT, WERE YOU TO AGREE WITH MY SUGGESTION,  
YOU WILL FIND THE APPROPRIATE WORDING.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE

DOWNGRADED FROM NODIS TO EXDIS PER STATE 242179

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